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# Update on Luri: How many languages?

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ERIK JOHN ANONBY

## Introduction<sup>1</sup>

Luri is an Indo-Iranian language cluster with over four million speakers.<sup>2</sup> The Luri ethnic area is found in southwestern Iran and southeastern Iraq, although smaller numbers of speakers have emigrated to elsewhere in Asia and a number of cities in the West.<sup>3</sup>

I have set the linguistic scene with a brief précis of the historical origins of the Lurs. It will become clear that this section is of key importance in an understanding of language boundaries, especially on the ends of the continuum that shoulder varieties of Kurdish and Farsi.

After providing this historical sketch, I present a long-overdue update of the ensemble of comparative research that has been done on Luri, especially as pertains to work from the

<sup>1</sup> The author wishes to acknowledge the input and assistance of the following individuals and to express ardent thanks to: Christina Anonby, Sekandar Amanollahi, Farid Armanieh, Joyce Blau, Barrie Evans, Jeff Green, Zahed Hafllang, Parisa Nur, Rick Rahim and Bruce Wiebe. Within the 'language area', the assistance of many speakers was invaluable:

یه سلام گرم تشی وکتون ایډیم. ایخیم و همی ایشا لر ل و دوسلمون آقایل فتاح، عادل، دادالله، هالو

احمد و حسین علی محمدی و رضا فاضلی بگیم دستون درد نکه سی ای که مردونگیتون مهلی بی.

دردتون من جونمون و سی همیشه چا کرتیم. علی جون ۱۳۸۱

<sup>2</sup> This population figure is further discussed below. See especially footnote 7.

<sup>3</sup> The author of this article has established the existence of small communities of Lurs in Turkey, Germany, Denmark, Norway, the UK, Canada and the United States. Amanollahi also mentions that there are groups of Lurs living in Afghanistan, but does not specify details of location, population or ethnic affiliation with other Luri groups. See S. Amanollahi, *Qom-e Lor* [The Lur Family] (Tehran, 1991), pp. 48 ff.

period since the Iranian Islamic Revolution. The primary focus of this survey addresses the question of how many languages comprise the Luri language continuum.

Traditionally, Luri has been categorised as a single language. However, opinions are varied. On the one hand, a few scholars have argued in keeping with the conservative view held by the Persian majority population that Luri is only a *lahje* 'dialect' of Farsi. On the other hand, an increasing number of researchers are supporting the division of the Luri continuum into more than one language. The identity of Laki, a language spoken by Lurs in one part of the ethnic area, is also briefly considered.

After reviewing opinions expressed in the literature, I pursue the central question of the article by appealing to linguistic and sociolinguistic data. Observation of speakers, sociolinguistic interviews and wordlists from various language areas are used to propose the division of Luri into three language areas: Luristāni, Bakhtiāri and Southern Luri. A map of the language continuum illustrates the conclusions of the article.

### Research background

This article is a synthesis of, and a review of, the literature on the subject and also original linguistic research. It summarizes the scattered and difficult to locate comparative research which is available on Luri,<sup>4</sup> and addresses some of the gaps, inconsistencies and controversies which are found there. Many of these challenges are due more to the inaccessibility and diffuse organisation of the Luri ethnic area than to lack of endeavour in previous research.

This given, I am still disappointed to say that Luri has not received its due share of attention for it is the language of a people numbering over 4 million with a rich culture as well as a complex linguistic and sociolinguistic situation. Perhaps it has been unjustly overshadowed by research on its neighbours Farsi and Kurdish, since speakers of those languages have published from a wide spectrum of universities, including those in the West. The language of scholarship on Luri presents an additional obstacle: literature available in Farsi has for the most part remained untapped by western scholars (and conversely, Iranian scholars working on Luri are at times unaware of research published in the West). However, Farsi-language resources are an indispensable component in an understanding of Luri, and I have endeavoured to search out and profit from all those which are available. Although they are not numerous, they are key to an understanding of the linguistic situation which reconciles the perceptions of 'insiders' with those of 'outsiders'.

Where our understanding still remains insufficient after the review of the literature is completed, I have found it necessary to investigate the linguistic situation directly. It is to this end that I employed sociolinguistic data and lexicostatistic analysis to address the central

<sup>4</sup> Blau's bibliography makes the strongest contribution to this area and Redard's bibliography is also helpful, but a number of works on Luri have appeared since their publication. See J. Blau, 'Lori', in *Studia Iranica* XXII (1993), pp. 93–119; G. Redard, 'Other Iranian Languages', in *Current Trends in Linguistics, VI: Linguistics in South West Asia and North Africa* (The Hague, 1970), pp. 97–135. Other important works on comparative Luri studies are: C. MacKinnon, 'The Dialect of Xorramâbâd and Comparative Notes on Other Lor Dialects', in *Studia Iranica* XXXI (2002), i, pp. 103–38; and the more general overview in G. Windfuhr, *The Iranian Languages* (London, 2003).

question in this article, namely that of how many languages comprise the Luri language continuum.

The original data given in this article were for the most part collected in Iran during a nine-month period in 2000–1. It is limited in that I was permitted to gather linguistic data in only one section of the Luri ethnic area, that of Mamasani (Southern Luri).<sup>5</sup> However, I was able to gather a significant amount of first-hand linguistic and sociolinguistic data from speakers from other parts of the ethnic area who were visiting or living in Shiraz, where my wife and I were based. Finally, remaining questions from the data were clarified through discussion with members of the Luri community in North America.

### The Lurs

The Lurs are members of an Iranian (Indo-European) ethnic family which they refer to as *iyl-a Luriy* “the Luri ethnic group”. More accurately, this family is a loosely-connected group of several more cohesive subgroups also known as *iylāt* “ethnic groups” or, variously, *qabāyal* “sub-groups”. The best-known of these groups are the Feyli (Lor-e Kuchek), Bakhtiāri, Bowyerahmadi, Kohgiluyeh and Mamasani (the latter four groups being Lor-e Bozorg). Feyli is further divided into Posht-e Kuh and Pish-e Kuh. There are a number of other smaller groups of Lurs.<sup>6</sup> Altogether, there are well over four million members of the Luri *iyl*, the vast majority of whom speak Luri language varieties.<sup>7</sup>

In addition to a small population (approx. 80,000) in southeastern Iraq, the Lurs are distributed over a number of provinces in Iran. The ethnic area spans a large portion of the Zagros Mountains and one extension of the area spreads southeast into the heart of Mesopotamia (see Figure 1 below). In Iran, the greatest concentrations of Lurs are found in the provinces of Luristān, Khuzestān, Chahārmahāl va Bakhtiāri and Boyerahmad va Kohgiluyeh. Significant populations of Lurs also live in contiguous areas of Ilām, Esfahān and Fārs provinces. Additionally, there are exile populations in several other provinces. Although the array of provinces which make up the homeland of the Lurs is impressive, few of the provincial boundaries correspond to ethnic divisions. Rather, they seem designed to decentralize the larger clans within the Luri ethnic family. An example of this is the geographic division of the once-powerful Bakhtiāri among four different provinces; in three of these four provinces, political affairs are directed from urban centres dominated by the majority-culture Persians.

<sup>5</sup> Other works by the present author which were carried out during this same period of fieldwork include *A Phonology of Southern Luri* (Munich, 2003) and *Bāhendayal: Bird Classification in Luri* (forthcoming, 2003).

<sup>6</sup> G. R. Fazel, ‘Lur’, in *Muslim Peoples: A World Ethnographic Survey*, ed. R. V. Weekes (Westport, 1984), pp. 446–447; S. Amanollahi, *Qom-e Lor* (Tehran, 1991), p. 8.

<sup>7</sup> B. Grimes (ed.), *Ethnologue* (13th edition) (Dallas, 1996), p. 677. S. Amanollahi (private correspondence 2000), who has calculated the population of the Luri ethnic group by province and *shahrestān* ‘municipality’ estimates the current population of Lurs in Iran at five million (up from his figure of three million as calculated on an Iranian census; see. Amanollahi, *Qom-e Lor* (Tehran, 1991), p. 8); however, my own calculation, which is based on the 1998 Iranian census, totals 4.2 million Lurs. A corresponding estimate of Luri speakers at over four million (see abstract) takes into account the existence of non Luri-speaking minorities living in the Luri homelands and language shift, among other details.

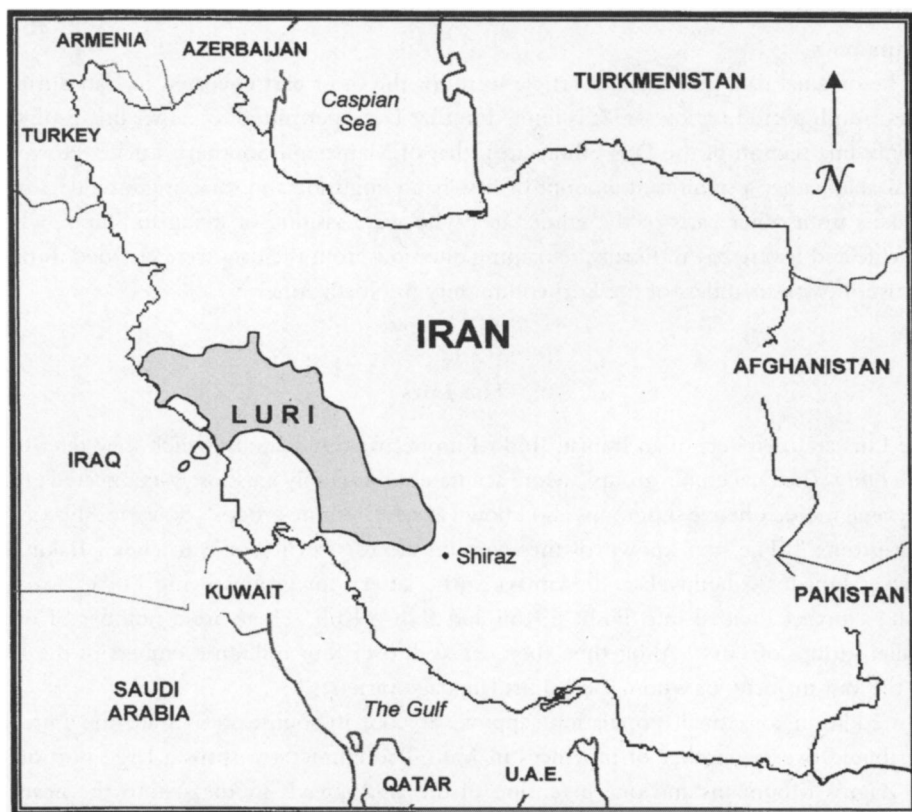


Fig. 1. Luri ethnic area in Iran and Iraq.<sup>8</sup>

In Iraq, the political situation is even less favourable toward the Lurs.<sup>9</sup> Since 1975, political factors have resulted in the mass migration of most Iraqi Lurs to Iran, where they share a greater degree of ethnic and religious affinity with the national population.<sup>10</sup>

### Origins of the Lurs

A Feyli man from Khorramābād recounts the well-known story that long ago there were three brothers whose descendants became the Kurds, the Lurs, and the Bakhtiāri.<sup>11</sup> This

<sup>8</sup> Fig. 1 is based on my synthesis of a wide variety of sources (see: fn. 7 and 8) as well as personal research.

<sup>9</sup> The distribution of the Luri language and ethnic group in Iraq is uncertain at best. J. Blau (private correspondence 2001) and B. Evans (private correspondence 2002) have highlighted the complexity of the situation and suggest that language varieties used by the inhabitants of this area do not always correspond with the same ethnic labels, or even with labels that are applied to similar language varieties in other parts of the Luri and Kurdish ethnic areas. Throughout his massive work, I. K. Fattah maintains that the variety spoken in Iraq and the extreme west of Iran called “Lori” is actually a variety of Southern Kurdish. See I. K. Fattah, *Les dialectes kurdes méridionaux: Étude linguistique et dialectologique* (Louvain, 2000).

<sup>10</sup> J. Blau (private correspondence 2001).

<sup>11</sup> Anonymous (private correspondence 2001). This speaker considered the Southern Lurs (Boyerahmadi, Kohgiluyeh and Mamasani) to be part of the Bakhtiāri division of these descendants.

account, though simple, is an appropriate introduction to the more detailed historical account found in the literature.

Scholars consider that it is likely that the Lurs are descended from the group of Aryan tribes that made their way from Central Asia, passing north of the Caspian Sea through the Caucasus and into what is known today as Iran. Other Indo-Iranian groups such as Persians and Kurds are also descendants of such migrants.<sup>12</sup> Lurs, like many other Iranians, have been part of a massive integration with other groups: both the early inhabitants of Iran such as the Elamites, and later Indo-Iranian invaders.<sup>13</sup>

Among the many Iranian ethnic groups, the Lurs are most closely associated linguistically with Kurdish- and Farsi-speaking Iranians. While some scholars maintain that the Lurs are descended from the Kurds, others maintain that since “early times” they have been an autonomous group which has, however, been influenced by both of its close cultural neighbours.<sup>14</sup> The linguistic influence of both of these groups is evident in the data presented later in this paper (see especially Figure 2 and the appendices).<sup>15</sup>

### Excursus: Where does the term *Luri* come from?

A number of similar descriptors have been used to identify the Lurs (Luri, Lurī, Lori, Lurish, Lōri, Lūri, Luriy, Ruliy),<sup>16</sup> but of these “Luri” is the most common. From a phonological standpoint, the name is appropriately written *Lurī* or *Luriy*.<sup>17</sup>

According to several Luri speakers from Yāsuj, the name ‘Luri’ means *qeriatmand* “zealous” or *bozorg* “big, great”. These speakers indicated that the term comes from the place name in the mountain pass where the Timurids (Tamarlane’s forces) first came through the Luri homelands when they were pressing west through Persia (c. AD 1400).

### Genetic affiliation of Luri

Although Luri’s linguistic relation to Farsi is evident, specialists are divided as to whether Luri and Farsi varieties diverged during the period when Old Persian was spoken, or during that of Middle Persian.<sup>18</sup> Luri is also related to Kurdish; this relationship is most evident in

<sup>12</sup> cf. Amanollahi, *Qom-e Lor*, p. 8.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 45.

<sup>14</sup> G. R. Fazel, ‘Lur’, in *Muslim Peoples: A World Ethnographic Survey*, ed. R. V. Weekes (Westport, 1984), p. 446.

<sup>15</sup> The linguistic influence of Kurdish is especially evident in Luristāni varieties of Luri. Compare these lists as well as the Laki data with the wordlists presented throughout I. K. Fattah’s work: *Les dialectes kurdes méridionaux: Étude linguistique et dialectologique* (Louvain, 2000).

<sup>16</sup> A number of these terms are listed in B. Grimes (ed.), *Ethnologue* (13th edition) (Dallas, 1996), p. 677. Some of the terms (Lurish, Lōri, Lūri) are used in early European descriptions of the language; the term ‘Ruliy’ is used by some, especially older, speakers of the Southern Luri variety.

<sup>17</sup> While both of these transcriptions are accurate in that they show distinctions of phonological length, the second one (Luriy) follows the phonological roman orthography that I have set out in my book, *A Phonology of Southern Luri* (Munich, 2003).

<sup>18</sup> The issue is actually more complex than I have presented it here; for a detailed discussion of pre-modern Iranian languages, consult the articles found in *Compendium Linguarum Iranicarum*, ed. R. Schmitt (Weisbaden, 1990), pp. 25–165. For further discussion on the historical relation between Farsi and Luri, see also: Thackston in Amanollahi, *Qom-e Lor*, p. 53; and A. Hemmati, *Farhang-e tatbiqi-ye vāzhegān-e guyesh-e Lori-ye Mamasani bā vāzhegān-e Fārsi-ye Now va Miṯāna* [Comparative Lexicon of Words from the Dialect of Luri-Mamasani with Words from New and Middle Persian] (Shiraz, 1990).



the northern varieties of Luri.<sup>19</sup> In the following section, I will seek to demonstrate that the Luri varieties form a continuum of languages between the Farsi and Kurdish language blocs.

According to a number of sources, Luri is a single language classified as Indo-European, Indo-Iranian, Iranian, and Western and Southwestern, Luri.<sup>20</sup> According to Grimes, the Luri subgroup also includes one other language, Kumzari, which is spoken by 3,000 people in Oman; however, evidence is lacking to support this hypothesis.<sup>21</sup> Other Southwestern languages include Fars, Lari, Aimaq, Bukharic, Darwazi, Dehwari, Dzhidi, Eastern Farsi, Western Farsi, Hazaragi, Pahlavani, Tajiki, Judeo-Tat, Muslim Tat and possibly Bashkardi. Laki is classified by Grimes as a variety of Luri, but Windfuhr classifies it (along with Kurdish varieties) as a Northwestern language.<sup>22</sup>

The information summarised in these sources presents current categories in existing research on Luri, but a review of the data reveals several difficult issues that must be addressed: the relationship of Kumzari and Laki to Luri, the existence of Lurs that speak Farsi as a mother tongue, and the unity of Luri.

The status of Kumzari and Laki varieties under the umbrella of the Luri language cluster is one difficult issue, and I have provided evidence for an alternative point of view elsewhere.<sup>23</sup> For the purposes of this article, I am assuming that although Kumzari belongs to the Southwestern group of Iranian languages, there is no basis for its association with Luri in particular. Concerning Laki, I accept Fattah's argument for Laki's affiliation with Kurdish rather than Luri although it is largely typological rather than historical in nature.<sup>24</sup>

The existence of ethnic Lurs who speak Farsi as a mother tongue is a second issue which has been raised but never fully documented.<sup>25</sup>

The additional issue of the linguistic unity of Luri proper is also complex. A discussion of this question forms the substance of the rest of this paper, and it is to this which we now turn our attention.

### How many languages comprise the Luri continuum?

Most of the research on Luri is descriptive rather than comparative. Because of this, the relatedness of different varieties of Luri is largely undefined. However, a few authors address

<sup>19</sup> See data tables below as well as note 9 above. Joyce Blau (personal correspondence 2001) notes that Luri and Kurdish are not always strictly differentiated in the transitional area between the two languages. An example of one interesting 'Kurdish' feature which occurs as far south as Southern Luri is the use of *-gal/al* as a plural marker.

<sup>20</sup> B. Grimes (ed.), 'Luri', in *Ethnologue* (13th edition) (Dallas, 1996), p. 677; M. Ruhlen, *A Guide to the World's Languages* (Stanford, 1991), p. 327.

<sup>21</sup> See the discussion and accompanying notes in the following paragraphs.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*; G. Windfuhr, 'New West Iranian languages', in *Compendium Linguarum Iranicarum*, ed. R. Schmitt (Weisbaden, 1990), p. 248, and in the same volume, G. Windfuhr, 'Western Iranian Dialects', pp. 294–295; B. Grimes and J. Grimes (eds.), *Ethnologue: Language Family Index* (Dallas, 1996), pp. 56–57. The seemingly random nature of this list reflects the incompleteness of academic understanding on the internal classification of the Southwestern group.

<sup>23</sup> E. J. Anonby, 'Was Kumzari Ever Part of Luri?' (ms.), (2002); 'Laki's Mistaken Identity: The Pull between Kurdish and Luri' (ms.), (2002). The second paper provides a brief historical analysis based on algorithms for classification outlined in I. Oranskij, *Les langues iraniennes* (Paris, 1970).

<sup>24</sup> I. K. Fattah, *Les dialectes kurdes méridionaux: Étude linguistique et dialectologique* (Louvain, 2000).

<sup>25</sup> Some groups, especially in central Färs Province, appear to have used Farsi for at least a century; other groups may have shifted due to forced settlement in non-Luri areas. See Amanollahi, *Qom-e Lor*, p. 47.

the unity of the Luri language area. I have selected several sources which reflect viewpoints represented in the literature.

### *Luri as a dialect of Farsi*

Western researchers, and more recently a small body of Iranian scholars, have worked on Luri language varieties over the past century. There is still a widely-held perception among Farsi-speaking Iranians that Luri is simply an “accent” or “dialect” of Farsi. However, linguistic and sociolinguistic research has demonstrated that Luri may indeed be considered language in its own right.<sup>26</sup> In other words, it shows a great deal of differentiation from Farsi in the areas of phonology, morphology, grammatical and semantic structure as well as lexicon; and speakers are aware of this distinctness. Furthermore, the two varieties are not inherently intelligible with one another, a fact which is obscured by a high degree of bilingualism in Farsi among the Luri population. Because of these factors, there is little academic literature that presently supports the classification of Luri as a Farsi dialect.<sup>27</sup>

### *Luri as a single language*

The *Ethnologue* is representative of the prevailing view that Luri is a single language, and that all Luri varieties are dialects of that language.<sup>28</sup> This view is not supported with evidence but is perhaps rather a “received” view, and has been challenged recently by several scholars. As will be discussed below, the authors of *Peoples of Iran* and Amanollahi both recognize the existence of distinct languages in the Luri language cluster.<sup>29</sup>

### Peoples of Iran: *Luri and Bakhtiāri*

Early twentieth century researchers quickly noticed that Luri and Bakhtiāri were quite different from one another. This distinction is summarized in the highly detailed map of *Peoples of Iran (Ethnolinguistic Groups)*.<sup>30</sup> On the map, the Luri language area is found in two segments, between which the Bakhtiāri area is located. This map’s separation of Bakhtiāri is accurate. For one thing, the Bakhtiāri consider themselves apart: that they are first Bakhtiāri (a sub-group of the Luri ethnic complex), and then Luri. The same may be said about their language: Bakhtiāri is the only variety of Luri which speakers themselves sometimes consider to be a *zawn* or “distinct language”.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>26</sup> cf. D. L. R. Lorimer, *The Phonology of the Bakhtiāri, Badakhshani and Madaglashti Dialects of Modern Persian* (London, 1922); B. Grimes (ed.), ‘Luri’, p. 737; Z. Madadi, *Vāzhehnāma-ye zabān-e Bakhtiāri [Lexicon of the Bakhtiāri Language]* (Tehran/Esfahan, 1996); Amanollahi, *Qom-e Lor*, p. 54; H. Izadpanāh, *Farhang-e Lori [Lexicon of Luri]* (Tehran, 1964); H. Izadpanāh, *Farhang-e Laki [Lexicon of Laki]* (Tehran, 1978).

<sup>27</sup> In Windfuhr’s list of the Western group of Iranian languages, he affirms the unity of Luri (his “Perside”) but seems to designate it as a dialect group within Persian, although he may in fact intend to be neutral on its linguistic status. See G. Windfuhr, ‘New West Iranian languages’, p. 295.

<sup>28</sup> B. Grimes (ed.), ‘Luri’.

<sup>29</sup> Amanollahi, *Qom-e Lor*, pp. 52, 55; *Peoples of Iran* (Austin, 1982), available at: <[www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/middle\\_east\\_and\\_asia/iran-peoples.82.jpg](http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/middle_east_and_asia/iran-peoples.82.jpg)>.

<sup>30</sup> *Peoples of Iran*, *ibid*.

<sup>31</sup> Z. Madadi, *Vāzhehnāma-ye zabān-e Bakhtiāri [Lexicon of the Bakhtiāri Language]* (Tehran/Esfahan, 1996).



However, speakers of the Bakhtiāri “language” still acknowledge their language variety as a type of Luri (in the same way that Italian is a type of Romance). The linguistic data presented in the section below<sup>32</sup> indicate that Bakhtiāri is in fact a distinct language variety which is, however, transitional between the northern (Feyli) and southern (Boyerahmadi, Kohgiluyeh, Mamasani etc.) Luri areas shown on the *Peoples of Iran* map. In other words, the two Luri linguistic areas are more closely related to the intermediate variety Bakhtiāri than they are to one another. Consequently, the division of the language cluster into two “related” or “equivalent” Luri areas and a “distinct” Bakhtiāri area is inadequate as presented on this map.

#### Amanollahi: *Western Luri and Eastern Luri*

Like *Peoples of Iran*, Amanollahi argues for the recognition of two distinct Luri languages. However, his divisions contrast with those shown on the map. When he presents his classification of Luri within the Western, Southwestern group, Amanollahi follows Oranskij.<sup>33</sup> However, as regards the subdivision of Luri he is responsible for the innovative recognition of two distinct Luri languages: *Bākhtri* “Western” (not to be confused with Bakhtiāri) and *Khāvari* “Eastern” Luri.<sup>34</sup> Because he is himself a Lur, Amanollahi’s categorisation is especially notable. In Western Luri he includes the dialects Luri, Borujerdi, Nahāvandi and “others”. Amanollahi’s Western Luri corresponds to the Luri area which is to the north of the Bakhtiāri area on the *Peoples of Iran* map. In Eastern Luri he includes Bakhtiāri as well as the language varieties spoken in Dezful and Shushtar.<sup>35</sup> Although he does not mention it in the same work, he also considers the major Luri varieties spoken in Boyerahmad, Kohgiluyeh and Mamasani as belonging to Eastern Luri.<sup>36</sup>

#### *Three Luri languages?*

The data presented below support Amanollahi’s distinction between Eastern and Western Luri. However, they also suggest that Eastern Luri may itself be divided into two distinct languages: Bakhtiāri and Southern Luri. Southern Luri corresponds to the Luri area to the south of Bakhtiāri on the *Peoples of Iran* map.

While living in the Mamasani district of Fārs Province, it came to my attention that Mamasani speakers used Farsi, not Luri, to communicate with Lurs from other parts of the

<sup>32</sup> See the section entitled, Reinterpretation of language boundaries.

<sup>33</sup> The work from which Amanollahi draws is probably Oranskij’s 1970 publication on Iranian languages. This is uncertain because I have been unable to locate a reference to his source. However, the information is almost identical to Oranskij’s work mentioned here. See I. Oranskij, *Les langues iraniennes* (Paris, 1970).

<sup>34</sup> Amanollahi, *Qom-e Lor*, p. 52.

<sup>35</sup> The relationship between Dezfuli, Shushtari and the Luri cluster is still unclear, and deserves further investigation. For some discussion, see J. M. Unvala, ‘Contribution to Modern Persian Dialectology: The Luri and Dezfuli Dialects’, in *Indo-Iranic* (1955), pp. 1–15; C. MacKinnon, *The Phonology and Morphology of Dizfuli and Shushtari: A Study in West Persian Dialectology* (Ann Arbor, 1974).

<sup>36</sup> S. Amanollahi (personal correspondence 2000).

Luri ethnic area, namely Bakhtiāri and Western Luri areas. Because of this, I decided to research, measure and document differences.

Existing literature in Farsi indicated that Southern Luri is distinct from other Luri varieties.<sup>37</sup> The Southern Luri language area is comprised principally of three groups known as Boyerahmadi, Kohgiluyeh and Mamasani.

### Reinterpretation of language boundaries

In order to test the language boundary hypotheses outlined in the sections above, I employed several tools: observation of intelligibility between varieties, speaker perception of intelligibility between varieties, and lexicostatistic analysis.<sup>38</sup>

For a definition of what constitutes a language, I am assuming mutual intelligibility as a key component. In cases where cultural cohesion is very high but intelligibility between varieties is low enough to make communication difficult (as in the case of Chinese language varieties, for example), I have been more hesitant to make linguistic differentiations. It is within this line of thinking that I have interpreted the results of my data gathering.

None of the tools discussed below is in itself a conclusive measure for defining language boundaries; however, taken together and in light of previous research they provide fairly clear indications of where such boundaries might lie.

#### *Observed intelligibility*

Although observed intelligibility may be a fairly accurate indicator, there were relatively few instances where speakers from distant parts of the Luri language area encountered one another in natural situations that I was able to observe. Of those situations that I observed, Southern Luri and Bakhtiāri speakers switched to Farsi to communicate with one another because they were unable to understand each other using their own language varieties; in the same way, Luristāni (Western Luri)<sup>39</sup> and Southern Luri speakers also switched to Farsi to communicate with each other. I did not observe Luristāni and Bakhtiāri speakers communicating with one another. Within the language areas which I have proposed, speakers of related dialects did not switch to Farsi or another dialect to communicate.

<sup>37</sup> See especially A. Moqimi, *Barrasi-ye guyesh-e Boyerahmad va . . .* [Study of the Speech of Boyerahmad and . . .] (Shiraz, 1994); A. Mosalimi, *Mamasani va Behesht-e Gomshoda* [Mamasani and Behesht-e Gomshoda] (Shiraz, 1990).

<sup>38</sup> Ideally, I would have liked to use recorded text testing as a more reliable indicator of dialect intercomprehension, as I have done in other language areas. See, for example, E. J. Anonby and E. Johnson, *A Sociolinguistic Survey of the Zaghawa (Beria) of Chad and Sudan* (N'Djaména, Chad, 1999). However, I was not given governmental permission to perform these tests. Comparison of grammatical structures would also have been extremely valuable in defining the character of the language continuum, but detailed analysis would have to be performed on each of the varieties before relevant patterns could be isolated and catalogued. Thus, grammatical comparison is outside the scope of this paper in which the initial distinctions put forth need to be tested by other such indicators of linguistic relation.

<sup>39</sup> Herein I will use the term Luristāni in place of Western Luri, since it was the term in common use in the language area. This term "Luristāni" was originally applied to the whole Luri ethnic area. However, a present drawback to this term is that it is now associated with the province of Luristān, where a large proportion, but not all, of Luristāni speakers live.

*Perceived intelligibility*

Although the accuracy of any one speaker's perception of intelligibility between varieties may be questionable, a wide cross-section of subjects from a variety of language areas helped to inform results gathered using other instruments.

In my interactions with Luri speakers, I asked over 200 subjects questions about perceived intelligibility with other varieties.<sup>40</sup> Speakers from the Luristāni language area argued that Luristāni varieties were intelligible, whereas other varieties such Bakhtiāri and the Laki varieties spoken by some Lurs were difficult or impossible to understand. Only a handful of subjects from the Luristāni language area had heard of the Southern Luri area (under any of its names), and all these subjects said that they could not understand the language spoken there.

Many Bakhtiāri speakers said that the variety of Bakhtiāri spoken in Chelgerd and Kohrang was very difficult to understand; otherwise, all varieties of Bakhtiāri were easily understood. For those who had had contact with speakers of Luristāni and Southern Luri, they maintained that these varieties were difficult to understand.

Very few Southern Luri speakers had had contact with speakers of Luristāni or Bakhtiāri. Among those that had, they maintained that Bakhtiāri was difficult and Luristāni was impossible to understand. Within the language area, speakers from other parts of the Southern Luri language area had some difficulty understanding speakers of Kohgiluyeh. Kohgiluyeh speakers, however, said that other varieties were easy to understand. Although many factors are involved here, I believe this reflects the fact that Kohgiluyeh speakers are bidialectal in other varieties of Southern Luri.

Further, it should be noted that subjects speaking intermediate dialects close to language boundaries often indicated a greater level of understanding of neighbouring "languages" than did those well within the language areas.

*Lexicostatistic analysis*

Lexicostatistic analysis (wordlist comparison) is instructive in that it is the only objective measure used in this study to measure relatedness between language varieties. However, with it come several weaknesses. For one thing, it tests only one small area of the language (the lexicon) and thus may not be directly correlated with mutual intelligibility. Secondly, there is no exact point at which a dialect may be defined as a language, or vice versa. Rather, varieties which are within the 70–90% lexical similarity threshold may *or* may not be considered as belonging to the same language.<sup>41</sup> Languages with over

<sup>40</sup> The questions that I asked of subjects related to language distribution, use, intelligibility and attitudes. A full presentation of the interview form is available in E. J. Anonby and E. Johnson, *A Sociolinguistic Survey of the Zaghawa (Beria) of Chad and Sudan* (N'Djaména, Chad, 1999). Of the data I gathered on Luri, only that which is relevant is summarised in the present article. One limitation to these informal interviews was that interviewees were almost exclusively male. Also, northern varieties of Luri were not as well represented as southern varieties.

<sup>41</sup> See T. G. Bergman, 'Summarizing and Drawing Conclusions from the Numbers in a Language Survey', in *Survey Reference Manual*, ed. T. G. Bergman (Dallas, 1989), section 8.1.5.

Farsi-Shirāzi Formal														
77	Farsi-Bushehri													
70	75	Luri-Mamasani 1												
76	79	89	Luri-Mamasani 2											
79	82	86	89	Luri-Boyerahmadi										
63	71	78	83	90	Luri-Kohgiluyeh*									
76	74	75	81	86	84	Luri-Bakhtiāri-Haftlang 1								
72	74	75	79	79	75	84	Luri-Bakhtiāri-Haftlang 2							
79	76	75	78	82	78	87	82	Luri-Bakhtiāri-Chahārlang						
80	74	73	75	73	71	72	73	74	Luri-Luristāni rural					
73	66	66	69	74	68	73	70	76	78	Luri-Luristāni “mixed”				
82	74	70	64	71	61	67	66	71	77	71	Luri-Luristāni-Borujerdi 1*			
85	85	69	77	81	NDA	81	85	81	60	65	67	Luri-Luristāni-Borujerdi 2*		
85	79	70	75	81	71	78	75	78	79	79	78	77	Luri-Luristāni-Khorramābādi	
70	65	61	65	70	67	66	67	66	69	73	67	77	78	Laki mixed
70	64	61	65	69	63	65	67	66	69	73	66	65	78	92 Laki-Aleshtar

Fig. 2. Percentages of lexical similarity between varieties of Luri.<sup>44 45</sup>

90% lexical similarity, on the other hand, will generally be considered dialects of a single language.<sup>42</sup>

For this study, I gathered twelve wordlists of 225 items (if possible) in most major dialect areas of all three proposed Luri language areas (see Figure 2).<sup>43</sup> As a control and to help define the boundaries of the Luri cluster, I gathered four supplementary wordlists (two Farsi varieties, two Laki varieties). Varieties were chosen based on cultural and linguistic centres found in the literature and given by speakers in the sociolinguistic interviews. Those marked with an asterisk indicate a lower reliability for a value because not enough words were compared to ensure statistical significance. Wordlists are transcribed in Appendix Two.

In the table Fig 2 above, a number of patterns are evident. The most striking pattern is **the presence of a continuum** from Farsi, through Luri, to Laki.<sup>46</sup> The varieties are arranged geographically from southeast to northwest. This continuum is evident, for example, in the percentages of lexical similarity between Luri-Mamasani and other varieties, where geographically more distant varieties become increasingly dissimilar. A number of lexical items in the wordlists also underline – with *justesse* – the validity of such a continuum. In

<sup>42</sup> Of course, this is a conservative interpretation of wordlist results considering that most of the western Romance languages (Spanish, Catalan, French, Langue d'Oc, Corsican, Italian etc.) are over 90% lexically similar, yet are considered by many Western scholars to be distinct languages.

<sup>43</sup> This wordlist is based on Swadesh's well-known 100-item wordlist. The modified version was supplied by the Société Internationale de Linguistique in N'Djaména, Chad.

<sup>44</sup> This table is taken from an unpublished manuscript: E. J. Anonby, *Iranian Wordlists* (2001). Similarity with Farsi and Laki varieties is given for comparison.

<sup>45</sup> “Mixed” indicates that speakers had lived in more than one segment of a dialect area.

<sup>46</sup> Fattah's extensive Southern Kurdish and Laki wordlists confirm that the language continuum that begins with Farsi extends right through to Kurdish varieties. See I. K. Fattah, *Les dialectes kurdes méridionaux: Étude linguistique et dialectologique* (Louvain, 2000).

Appendix Two, one interesting lexical continuum (though not perfect) is as follows for item 13, “finger”:<sup>47</sup>

(Farsi:	<b>angušt</b> )
Southern Luri, Mamasani:	<b>tiyluw</b>
Southern Luri, Kohgiluyeh:	<b>čiliyj</b>
Southern Luri, Boywerahmadi:	<b>kiliyč</b>
Bakhtiāri, Haflang:	<b>kiliyj</b>
(Bakhtiāri, Chārlang:	<b>anguliy</b> )
Luristāni, mixed:	<b>kiliyk</b>
Luristāni, Khorramābādi and Laki:	<b>kilik</b>

Other eye-catching continua in Appendix Two are instantiated, for example, by items 24 “bone”, 148 “run” and 212 “near”.

The heightened percentage of all varieties’ similarity with Farsi is indicative of a second pattern, widespread **lexical borrowing from Farsi**.<sup>48</sup>

A further pattern informs **the division of Luri into three languages**: Luristāni, Bakhtiāri and Southern Luri. These language groupings are bounded by the black line in the table; 80 % forms an approximate threshold for language divisions.<sup>49</sup> For researchers familiar with wordlist analysis, the precision of the language boundaries is notable, with the exception of Luristāni (where internal variation is higher).

Geographical proximity of adjacent varieties (such as Luristāni with Laki, or Bushehri Farsi with Southern Luri) is associated with greater lexical similarity whether or not the varieties are associated with the same language. This highlights **gradation at language boundaries**, even where ethnic boundaries are precise.

A list of Luri languages and their component dialects, based on the literature and the data presented above, is given in Appendix One.

### Conclusion: Luri as a continuum of three languages

Based on existing literature as well as the data presented in the previous sections, I have proposed that Luri is best classified as a language continuum between Kurdish and Farsi varieties, and is itself composed of three distinct languages: Luristāni, Bakhtiāri and Southern Luri (see Figure 3).

<sup>47</sup> I have here attempted to interpret the items phonologically in order not to obscure the underlying structural pattern of the continuum, but further analysis is needed as regards the northern varieties. For phonetic transcription of these items, see Appendix Two.

<sup>48</sup> This is evident because many varieties show a higher level of lexical similarity to Farsi than to some other languages in the Luri cluster, even though they are genetically more closely related to Luri varieties. This pattern does not occur with any other language variety in the data besides (Modern Standard) Farsi.

<sup>49</sup> 80 % may seem an arbitrary value at which to define language boundaries. In fact, any such figure is by nature arbitrary. However, this figure is descriptive (rather than prescriptive) in nature and its main value lies in the correlation between sociolinguistic indicators discussed earlier and a stable lexicostatistical value. Wordlist analysis may be used only as an initial indicator of language affinity groupings, and needs to be interpreted with reference to other indicators, as I have attempted to do in the present study.



Fig. 3. Division of the Luri ethnic area of Iran into language areas.

©2002 Erik John Anonby. Based on information given in Fattah (2000), Anonby (2002), Amanollahi (1991) and University of Texas at Arlington (1981).

**Notes:**

- 1) Although Laki speakers do not comprise part of the Luri language cluster, they are ethnically Luri and are shown on the same map for interest's sake.
- 2) Part of the population in Kermānshāhān and Ilām Provinces claims Luri ethnicity, but it seems that at least some of these individuals speak Southern Kurdish. The same is likely true across the Iraqi border from this area. This is a topic which deserves further investigation (see note 8); consequently, I have not delineated linguistic affiliation of this area on the map.
- 3) A small part of the southwestern section of the Southern Luri language area is shared with speakers of Qashqā'i (Turkic).
- 4) There are small enclaves of Luri speakers who have been forcibly settled in many of the provinces of western and central Iran in addition to the larger areas shown.



## Appendix One: List of Luri languages and major component dialects

<i>LANGUAGE</i>	<i>DIALECT</i>	<i>DIALECT CENTRES</i>
<b>Luristāni:</b>	Khorramābādi Borujerdi Nahāvandi Luri of Andimeshk Rural dialects	Khorramābad Borujerd Nahāvand Andimeshk (various)
<b>Bakhtiāri:</b>	Haflang (Haftlang)  Chārlang (Chahārlang) Chelgerd Kohrang	Masjed-e Soleimān, Shahr-e Kord Shahr-e Kord, Dowrud Chelgerd Kohrang
<b>Southern Luri:</b>	Boyerahmadi Kohgiluyeh Mamasani Shuli	Yāsuj Dehdasht Nurābād Shul

## Appendix Two: Wordlists

These wordlists are taken from an unpublished manuscript: E. J. Anonby, 'Iranian Wordlists' (2001). Similarity with Farsi and Laki varieties is given for the sake of comparison, since I refer to these varieties in this article. The Luristāni-Rural wordlist is not from my own research, but is based on the glossary found in S. Amanollahi and W. Thackston, *Tales from Luristan* (Boston, 1986).

As is standard in current language data gathering, IPA (the International Phonetic Alphabet) is used for transcription of all lists. Since there are more than one hundred symbols which make up this alphabet, I will not provide a key here. Instead, I will refer the reader to the diagram in P. Ladefoged and I. Maddieson's book, *The Sounds of the World's Languages* (Oxford, 1996), p. 426.

I have chosen to provide phonetic, rather than phonemic, transcriptions (including that of the formal Shirazi dialect of Farsi). This is because insufficient work has been conducted in most of the varieties in question; several researchers who have attempted a phonemicization of data in the Luri languages without conducting sufficient phonological research have provided an inaccurate picture of the sound systems they describe (especially as pertains to vowel system processes and inventories), and I do not wish to repeat the same mistake here. If readers desire to learn more about the phonemic inventory of certain varieties and their phonetic correlates, they may consult the references provided in the endnotes. Another reason I have limited myself to phonetic transcriptions is that phonetic innovations in language communities may provide indicators of genetic structure among the languages in question.

In my following wordlist the abbreviation 'n/a' indicates that no data was available for a given item. An asterisk indicates information which I believe to be incorrect after having confirmed lists with other speakers in the same area. Phonetic stress is word-final unless otherwise indicated. Statistics for lexical similarity were generated using a computer programme: J. Wimbish, WORDSURV (Dallas, 1991).

In my article, 'Iranian Wordlists', I have recorded the following additional information for each wordlist: reliability, speaker's sex and age, date and location of elicitation, and other comments on the wordlists. The lists are also available on disk in WORDSURV format, along with decisions regarding the proposed cognate sets, should other researchers wish to compare these wordlists with data which they have themselves collected. Access to this information is available from the author at: <anonby@kastanet.org.>

Item	Gloss	Farsi-Shirazi formal	Farsi- Bushehri	S Luri- Mamasani 1	S Luri- Mamasani 2	S Luri- Boyerahmadi	S Luri- Kohgiluyeh	Bakhtiari- Haftang 1	Bakhtiari- Haftang 2
1	head	saɾ	saɾ	saɾ	saɾ	saɾ, k'ala	saɾ	saɾ, kala	k'ala
2	hair	mu	mið	mɛt	mɛl	mi, mol	mi	mɛl	mi
3	eye	tʃiʃɪŋ	tʃiʃ	tija	tija	tija	tija	tije	ti
4	nose	bini, daməy	daməy, puz	nɔʃt	nɔʃt	nɔʃt	nɔʃt	daməy, nɔʃt	nɔʃt
5	ear	guʃ	guʃ	guʃ	guʃ	guʃ	guʃ	guʃ	guʃ
6	mouth	dahan, dahan	da:n	k'apʰ	k'ap	k'ap, tʃil	cap, tsʰil	dihû	dəhon
7	tooth	dandan	dandun	dandun	danden	dəndün	dəndü	dəndü	dəndö
8	tongue	zabən	zəβun	zəwn	zəwn	zəwn	zəwn	zəβü	zö
9	neck	g'ardan	g'ardan	boʃ	g'ardan	g'aröð	g'arda	g'arda	n/d
10	throat	golü	bot, qorqorotʃ	bivəzi	boʃ	gilü, bot	qərut	bot	xer
11	arm	bazu (upper)	kul	bivəl (arms/bosom)	bozu (upper)	bozu (upper)	das	bozu (upper), das	boi
12	hand	dast	das	das:	das, motʃidas	das:	das, motʃ	das	das:
13	finger	əgɔʃt	əgɔʃt	pɛ:ndʒɛ	əgɔʃt, tilu	k'iitʃ	tselidz	kəlidʒ	əgɔʃt
14	nail	nəxon	nəxon	nəxon	nəxon	nəxü	nəxö	nəxö	nəxö
15	breast	pestan	n/d	pis:ən	pis:ən	pɛs:ü	n/d	pɛs:ə, golun	pesto
16	stomach (belly)	fek'am	kəm	fɛk'am, kəm, mɛ:ɛɛ	kəm	kəm	kəm	kəm	kəm
17	navel	nəf	nəf	nəf	nəf	nəf	nəf	nəf	nəf
18	back	poʃt	poʃt, kamar	pɔʃtʰ, k'amar	pɔʃt, k'amar	poʃt, moza	camar	poʃt, k'amar	poʃt
19	buttocks	k'afal	n/d	k'ulɔm	bəsend	guk	n/d	kende	qim
20	leg	pə	pə	pə	pʰə	pə	pə	pə	pʰə
21	knee	zanu	zuni	zəni	zəni	zuni	zuni	zəni	zuni
22	foot	pə	n/d	pʰə	'mɔʃtʃipə	pʰə	pʰə	pə	pʰə
23	skin	pust	pus	pus	pus	pus:	pus	pus	pus
24	bone	ʔostəxən	n/d	has	has	hasəxün	has	ʔosoxü, xas	n/d
25	blood	xun	xin	xun	xun	xī	xin	xī	xī
26	urine	ʔedroɾ	n/d	fəʃ	fəʃ	mesa	n/d	meste	mestar
27	heart	dəl, qəlb	qəlb	dɛt, qəlb	dɛʃ, qəlb	qəlb	qəlb	dɛt, qəlb	dəl, qəlb
28	man	mə:ɛd, ʔodam	mard, mardak	məɾɛ	mərd	mərd	mərd, piʃə	piʃə	piʃə
29	woman	zan	zeneku	zan	zan	zan, zina	zina	zina	zina
30	child	batʃɛ	batʃaku	batʃ'a, ruð (dear child)	batʃa	batʃa, ru	batʃa, ru (dear child)	batʃa, ru	batʃa
31	father	pəɛɛ	buwə	bəw	bəw	bəw	bəw	bəw	bəβa
32	mother	məɛɛ	dəj, nana	d'ɛj	d'ɛj	dəj	dəj, dəj	də, dəj	də, dəja
33	brother	barəɛɛ	kəko	k'ako	kako	kəko, g'əwɾ	əw	g'əw	g'əw
34	sister	xəhəɛ	dəðe	dəja	daða	dəja	n/d	dəj	daðu
35	uncle (maternal)	dai	xəlu	həβu, xəβu	həv'u	həlu	n/d	həlu	həlu
36	name	ʔesɛɛ, nəm	nəm	nəm	nəm	nü	n/d	nə	nəm
37	chief (tribal)	xən	xən	xən	xən	xən	n/d	xən	xən
38	dog	səgʲ	səg	səgʲ	səgʲ	kətu	n/d	kətu	kutu
39	goat	boz	boz	boz	boz	boz	n/d	boz	boz, bigʲ*
40	chicken	məɾɛ	dʒidʒɛ	məɾiɾ	məɾɛ	dʒidʒa	n/d	məɾi, dʒidʒa	məɾɛ
41	bovine (cow- bull)	gəv	gəwa	gəw	gə	gow	n/d	gə	gə

Item	Bakhtiāri-Chāriang	Luristāni-Rural	Luristāni-mixed	Luristāni-Borujerdi 1	Luristāni-Borujerdi 2	Luristāni-Khorramābādī	Q-Laki mixed	Laki-Aleshtar
1	sar, kale	sar, kala, kalosa	sar, kapu	n/d	k'ala	sar, kala	sar, kal'a	kal'a
2	mi	mi	mi	n/d	mu	mu	mi	mi
3	tije	tʃaf, tja	tja	n/d	tʃef	tʃaf	tʃ'am	tʃ'am
4	nqʃt	pat, nuq	pəʔ	n/d	pəʔ	daməv	pit	pit
5	guʃ	guʃ	guʃ	n/d	guʃ	guʃ	guʃ	guʃ
6	dohū	qap, dam	dam	n/d	diun	dahan	dam	dam
7	dēndū	dandū	dənon	n/d	dēnū	danō	dēnōw	dēnōw
8	zovū	zawū	zaβu	n/d	zun	zaβo, zuw	zuo	zuo
9	g'ardā	gardā, mal:	mei	n/d	n/d	garde	məi	məi
10	gilu	halq	qorqora, halq	n/d	n/d	halq	tʃini	tʃini
11	k'at	bowi	pəl	n/d	n/d	bozu (upper)	bozu (upper)	bozu (upper)
12	das	das:	matʃ	n/d	n/d	das	das	das
13	agoli	əŋoʃt, ki:lik	kəlik	n/d	n/d	kəleg	kələk	kələk
14	nəxōw	n/d	nəxə	n/d	n/d	nəxo	nəxo	nəxo
15	pəs:ū	n/d	pəsə	n/d	pesu	pəs:ə	pəs:ə	mamek
16	ʔeʃkam	ʔiʃkam, gada, diʃ, nuqdiʃ	mə:ʃ, gada	n/d	ʔeʃkam	gijə	g'iʃa, læm	g'iʃa
17	nəf	nəfa	nəf	n/d	n/d	nəfa	nəfa	nəf, nəfa
18	gorde	poʃt, gorda, kul, bō	məza, gorda	n/d	n/d	poʃ	poʃt	pəʃt
19	kende	n/d	qəj	n/d	n/d	naʃimanga	su, kinʔ	su, kinʔ
20	po, ləgg	lɪn	səyuru, qol	n/d	po	po	po	po
21	zuni	zuni	zuni, tʃaʃt	n/d	n/d	zaʔnoʔ	zo:wni	zo:wni
22	po	po	mutʃapo	n/d	n/d	po	po	po
23	pus	pus:	pʔus, tuk	n/d	n/d	pus	pus	pus
24	has, ʔosoxū	n/d	səxo	n/d	n/d	ʔostəxo	sʔəxo	sʔəxo
25	xī	n/d	xi	n/d	xū	xun, xu	xi	xʔi
26	meste	zarəw, tʃur	tʃor	n/d	ʃi, los	tʃərka	gi, tʃʏr	tʃʏər
27	qalb	dil	del	n/d	dəʔ	qalb	qalb	dəʔ, qalb
28	n/d	mard, piʃo, ʔodam	piʃo	n/d	mard	mard	piʃo	piʃo
29	zine	zan, zyna	zina	n/d	n/d	zan	ʒan	ʒan
30	dʒəʔale	batsa, batʃ, rula	terpetil	n/d	ru (dear child)	batʃa	ʔowil	ʔowilʔ
31	beuw	pidar, bua	buwa	n/d	bawa	buwa	buwa	buwa
32	nana	doleka, do:	do:	n/d	do, doʃa, nena	do	do, doleka	do
33	koko	giʃo	baro(r), giʃə	n/d	beror	beror	bero	bero
34	daði	xʔar	xʔar, dada	n/d	xʔor	xʔar	xowə	xweja
35	doi	holu	holu	n/d	xolu	holu	holu	holu
36	nū	ʔisrə	num	n/d	nū	nom	nom	nō
37	xon	n/d	xon, xu	n/d	xon	xon	xon	xon
38	saj	saj	seji	n/d	sej	sej	sej	səg, gamol
39	boʒ	buz	boz	n/d	boz	boz	boz	boz
40	dʒidʒa	mury	dʒidʒa	n/d	n/d	dʒidʒa	dʒidʒa	dʒʔidʒek
41	go	gow	gow	n/d	gəw	gow	gow	gow

Item	Gloss	Farsi-Shirazi formal	Farsi- Bushehri	S Luri- Mamasani 1	S Luri- Mamasani 2	S Luri- Boyerahmadi	S Luri- Kohgiluyeh	Bakhtiari- Haftang 1	Bakhtiari- Haftang 2
42	horn (cow)	fox	fox	fox	fox	fox	n/d	fox	fox
43	tail	dom	dom	dɒm	dɒmb	dom	n/d	domb, din	dom
44	camel	fɒtɒr	ʔɒfɒr	fɒtɒr	fɒtɒr	fɒtɒr	n/d	fɒtɒr	ʔɒfɒr
45	lion	fɪr	fɪr	fɪr	fɪr	fɪr	n/d	fɪr	fɪr
46	snake	mɒr	mɒr	mɒr	mɒr	mɒr	n/d	mɒr	mɒr
47	fish	mohi	mohi	mohi	mohi	moi	n/d	mɒi, gelar (spec.?)	moi
48	bird	parande	bonda	parande, bohəndɛ	bohenda	bohenda	n/d	bohenda	paranda
49	ant	muriʃe	muri	muri	muri	muri	n/d	muri	mur
50	spider	ʔagkʰabut	tʃartʃar	gɒndɒr	ʃeʰtʰnakʰ, reteʰtʰ	gondor	n/d	ʃeʰtʰ	ʃeʰtʰ
51	scorpion	ʔaʁrab	ʔaqrab	ʔaqrab	ʔaqrab	ʔaqrab	n/d	guwi	boʃi
52	louse	ʃeʃɛʃ	ʃɒʃ	ʃɛʃ	ʃɛʃ	ʃɒʃ	n/d	ʃɛʃ	ʃeʃɛʃ
53	tree	daraxt	daraxt	dɛrɒxt	dɒr	dɒr, daraxt	n/d	dɒr, daraxt	dɒr
54	branch	foxɛ	foxɛ	lɛʁɣa	lɛʁɣa	lɛʁɣa, lɛʁʁɣa	n/d	foxɛ, lɛxt	fox
55	leaf	baɣʝ	baɣ	baʁɣʝ	par	par	n/d	par	baɣ
56	bark	pustedaraxt	pus	kuɒt	kuɒl	pusidaraxt	n/d	pusidaraxt, pusidɒr	pustidɒr
57	root	riʃɛ	riʃɛ	riʃa	riʃa	riʃa	n/d	riʃa	sɒq
58	flower	gol	gol	gɒt	gol	gol	n/d	gɒʝ	gol
59	seed	toɒɲ, dɒnɛ, baʁɣ	tʰɒx	duɣ	toɒɲ	toɒɲ	n/d	toɒɲ	toɒɲ, duna, baʁɣ
60	grass	ʔalɒf	ʔalɒf	ʔalɒf	ʔalɒf	ʔalɒf	n/d	ʔalɒf, camɒ	ʔalɒf
61	sky	ʔosɛman	ʔosɛmun	havɒ	ʔosɛmɒ	ʔosɛmun	n/d	ʔosɛmɒ	ʔosimɒ
62	cloud	ʔabɣ	ʔɒwɛ	ʔɒwɛ	ʔɒwɛ	ʔɒwɛ, ʔabr	n/d	ʔɒwɛ	ʔɒwɛ
63	sun	ʔaftɒb	ʔaftɒw	gʰarɒmɒ	ʔaftɒw	ʔaftɒw	n/d	ʔaftɒw	ʔaftɒw
64	moon	mɒh	mɒh	mɒ	mɒ	mɒ	n/d	mɒh	mɒ, ma
65	night	ʃab	ʃɒw	ʃɒw	ʃɒw	ʃɒw	n/d	ʃɒw	ʃɒw
66	star	setɒrɛ	setɒrɛ	sitɒrɛ	sitɒrɛ	sitɒrɛ	n/d	setɒrɛ, ʔostɒrɛ	ʔostɒrɛ
67	wind	bɒd	bɒd	bɒd	bɒd	bɒj	n/d	bɒd	bɒd
68	earth (material)	zamin	zemɛ	zamin	zamin	zami	n/d	zimi	zimi
69	hill	tape	tol	taɣ	tol	tol	n/d	tapa, tol	tol
70	rock (large, 1m)	sangʝ	sang	bɛʁɣ	sangʝ, bɛʁd, kitʃɒkʰ, kɒtɒr, ɛrɒr	kɒtɒr	n/d	bɛʁd	bɛʁd
71	sand	mɒsɛ, ʃɛn	mɒsɛ	mɒsɛ	mɒsɛ	mɒsɛ	n/d	mɒsɛ	mɒsɛ
72	dust	xɒkʰ	gel	gʰɛl	gʰɛl, xɒl	gel	n/d	gʰɛl	gʰɛl
73	pebble	rigʝ	rig	bɛʁɣ	rɪz	rɪz, toɣɒr	n/d	rig	rigʝ
74	water	ʔab	ʔɒw	ʔɒw	ʔɒw	ʔɒw	n/d	ʔɒw	ʔɒw
75	dew	ʃabɛnam	nam	ʃɒwnam	ʃɒwnam	ʃɒwnɒ	n/d	ʃɒwnɒ	ʃɒwnɒ
76	river (- course)	rudxɛnɛ	dɛrɛ	ʔɒw	ru	ʔɒw	n/d	ru, galɒl	ruɒ
77	fire	ʔatɛʃ	taʃ	taʃ	taʃ	taʃ	n/d	taʃ	taʃ
78	smoke	dud	diɒ	diɣ	diɒ	di	n/d	di	di:
79	ember	zɒrɛsɒrɛ	xɛrɒɲ	xɛrɒɣɣʝ	xɛrɒɣɣʝ	xɛrɒɣɣʝ	n/d	zɛɣɒlɪrɒʃɒn	ʔagɣɛʃt
80	year	sɒl	sɒl	sɒt	sɒl	sɒl	n/d	sɒl	sɒl
81	summer	tabɛstɒn	tɒwɛsɒn	tʰɒws:ɒn	tɒwɛsɒn	tɒwɛs:ɒ	n/d	tɒwɛsɛ	taʃɛstɒ

Item	Bakhtiāri-Chārlang	Luristāni-Rural	Luristāni mixed	Luristāni-Borujerdi 1	Luristāni-Borujerdi 2	Luristāni-Khorramābādī	Q-Laki mixed	Laki-Aleshtar
42	fox	dq	fox	fox	fox	fox	fox	fox
43	dom	dum	d <sup>w</sup> əm	dom	dəm	dym	dum	d <sup>w</sup> əm
44	fotor	fotur	fter	dʒamal	ʔetʃetʃ	ʃoter	ʃotur	ʃ <sup>w</sup> æter
45	fir	fyr	fir	fir	fir	fir	fir	fir
46	mör	hafi	mör	mör	mör	mör	mör	mör
47	moi	mdi	müi	moi	moi	moi	moi	moi
48	paranda	bolana	parana	n/d	n/d	paranda	n/d	paranda
49	muri	n/d	məruʒa	murtʃa	murtʃa	məriʒ	məriʒ	miruʒ
50	ʔaŋk <sup>l</sup> abut	n/d	ʔaŋkabut	zalpə	kortona	ʔaŋkabut	ʃeiton	ʃeito
51	gaʒdi	n/d	kaʒdəm	ʔarqab	n/d	ʔayrə	ʔaqrə, dymmarkul	dymmarkul, kulʒdam
52	ʃeʃ	n/d	ʃeʃ	ʃeʃeʃ	reʃk	ʃeʃ	ʃeʃ	ʃəʃ
53	dor	dor, daraxt	dor, dəraxt	dor, daraxt	diraxt	dor, daraxt	dor	dor
54	foxa	ʃalt, tʃal, tʃukal	tarka	ʃax	ʃaxa	ʃaxa	ʃaxa	ʃaxa
55	barg	barg	balg	banak <sup>l</sup> *	barg	balg	balg, varg	balg
56	pusidor	n/d	tukedor	pusidor	pusidiraxt	pusdaraxt	pusidor	pusidor
57	riʃa	riʃa, byx	riʃa, brix	soq	riʃa	riʃa	bœn*	riʃa
58	gol	n/d	g <sup>w</sup> ol	gol	gol	gol	gol	guwil
59	baz	duna	tom	toxŋ, bazʃ	dū	toxŋ	t <sup>h</sup> ym	t <sup>w</sup> ym
60	ʔalaf	n/d	sə <sup>w</sup> zi, sowzilakoni	ʔalaf	ʔalef	caman, gija	gija	gija
61	ʔosamū	havo	ʔosm <sup>ʃ</sup>	ʔosemō	ʔosemū	ʔasimū	ʔosimōw	ʔosimōw
62	ʔawr	ʔawr	ʔəwr	ʔəwr	n/d	ʔəwr	ʔəwr	ʔəwr
63	ʔoftəw	ʔaftow, kur	ʔaftow	ʔaftow, g <sup>l</sup> armi	n/d	ʔaftow	ʔaftow, həyar	həyar
64	mah	mo	ma	mo, ma	n/d	ma	mah	muŋ
65	ʃəw	ʃəw	ʃəw	ʃəw	n/d	ʃə	ʃu	ʃu
66	setora	ʔosərə	ʔəsrə	setora	n/d	setora	ʔəsrə	sitora, ʔəsrə
67	boj	boq	boq	boð	n/d	boq	vo	vo
68	zimi	zamin, xok	zemī	zamin	n/d	zimi	zimi, zamin	zimi
69	tapa, tol	tapa	n/d	n/d	n/d	tapa	tapa	tapa
70	bærd	sap, bard	səp, bærd	n/d	n/d	saxra, barq	bærd	bærd
71	mosa	n/d	mosa	n/d	n/d	mosa	ʃen	mosa
72	hok <sup>l</sup>	tuz	xokituz	n/d	n/d	xok	xok	xok
73	rig	galu	riʃ	n/d	n/d	driy	riʃ	riʃ, kufʃek
74	ʔəw	ʔəw	ʔəw	n/d	n/d	ʔəw	ʔəw	ʔəw
75	ʃəwnā	n/d	ʃəwnam	n/d	n/d	ʃənim	ʃəman	ʃənem
76	ruhuna	galni, darjo	rudx <sup>w</sup> ona, gelal	n/d	n/d	gelal	ru	ru
77	taʃ	n/d	taʃ	n/d	n/d	taʃ	ʔogər	ʔogər
78	di	dʏ	dið	n/d	n/d	di	di	dqi
79	xoreŋg <sup>l</sup>	n/d	teʃpara	n/d	n/d	ʔazgel	pirisko	məz
80	sol	sol	sol	n/d	n/d	sal	sal	sal
81	towesū	n/d	tawesu	n/d	n/d	toweso	towesow	towesow



Item	Gloss	Farsi-Shirazi formal	Farsi- Bushehri	S Luri- Mamassani 1	S Luri- Mamassani 2	S Luri- Boyerahmadi	S Luri- Kohgiluyeh	Bakhtiari- Hafalang 1	Bakhtiari- Hafalang 2
82	winter	zemestan	zemsun	zimis'æn	zimisä	zimesä	n/d	zemesä	zemesto
83	village	dæh, rusta, ʔobodi	dæ	mol	dæ, rusto, ʔobodi	dæ, rusto, mol, ʔobodi	n/d	rusto, xordon	mol
84	field (plain)	daft, sahra	bijobun	g'ɔd	daft	daft, sa:ro	n/d	sa:ro, lawa	sa:ro
85	path	dʒade, rah	dʒade	dʒoda, ra	dʒoda, xata, kijara	dʒoda	n/d	dʒoda, rah	dʒoda, ra
86	house	xænc	xunc	ʃ'uw	huna	huna	n/d	hone, hæwʒa	hona
87	bed	taxt	taxt	t'axt'	taxt	taxtixaws	n/d	dʒoldʒo (mat)	taxt
88	hole	surax	siloy	s'i:me	sima	sima (in wall), tʃa, tʃola, gowd	n/d	tʃa, tʃola (in ground), god	silo
89	rubbish (piece)	ʔaʃxal	ʔofʔol	rʔrʔfak'	rʔrʔfak', zaʃola	ʔaʃxol, xilarof	n/d	ʔofxol	ʔaʃqol, rofteru
90	clothing (piece)	lebas	leʃna	libos	libos	libos, dʒuma (shirt)	n/d	rext (bedding)	raxt' (bedding)
91	saddle	zin	zin	zi	zin	zi	n/d	zin	tark
92	pot (metal)	dig'	potil	dig'	dizi, potil	potil, fotil	n/d	dig	komotʃ
93	meat	guʃt	guʃt	gyʋʃ	guʃ	guʃt	n/d	guʃt	guʃt
94	salt (edible)	namak'	namak'	ngmpk'	nemek'	nimek'	n/d	nemek	nemek'
95	oil	rowran	ruyan	ruyā	ruwā	rowyā	n/d	ruye	rowwā
96	egg (chicken)	toxq	xog	xog'	xog'	xog'	n/d	toxq, xoje	xoja
97	milk	ʃir	ʃir	ʃir	ʃir	ʃir	n/d	ʃir	ʃir
98	hunger	gorsaneg'i	goʃnei	gusnei	gosnei	gowsnei	n/d	gosna (adj)	gosna (adj)
99	thirst	tʃneg'i	toʃna (adj)	teʃnei	tefnei	tʃnei	n/d	teʃna (adj)	tʃna (adj)
100	rope	tanob, risman, band	ban	band	band	band	n/d	voris	tanof, band
101	iron (metal)	ʔohan	ʔohon	ʔohā	ʔohen	ʔohē	n/d	ʔohē	ʔohēn
102	knife (small)	tʃasru	k'ord	tʃoku, tʃoqu	tʃoku	tʃeku	n/d	tʃaqu	tʃaku
103	war	dʒang'	dʒan	dʒæf	dʒær	dʒang', dʒar	n/d	dʒær	morofa
104	one	jek'	jek	ja, jik'	jek', ja	jek', jak	n/d	jak	jak'
105	two	do	do	do	do	do	n/d	do	du
106	three	se	se	se	se	so	n/d	se	se
107	four	tʃahar	tʃor	tʃor	tʃor	tʃor	n/d	tʃor	tʃor
108	five	paqɔ	pāɔ	pāɔ	pā	pāɔ	n/d	pāj	pā
109	six	ʃiʃ	ʃiʃ	ʃiʃ	ʃiʃ	ʃaʃ, fuʃ	n/d	ʃaʃ	ʃaʃ
110	seven	haʃ	haʃ	haʃ	haʃ	haʃ	n/d	haʃ	haʃ
111	eight	haʃt	haʃ	haʃt	haʃ	haʃ	n/d	haʃ	haʃ
112	nine	no	no	noh	no	noh	n/d	no	no
113	ten	da	da	da	da	dah	n/d	da	da
114	eleven	jozda	jozæ	joz:a	joza	joz:a	n/d	joz:a	joz:a
115	twenty	bist	bist	bist	bis	bis:	n/d	bis	bist
116	one hundred	sad	sad	sad	sað	saj	n/d	sad	sað
117	much	zizod, xe'li	xe'li	n/d	zizod, jekeli, ma:li	zizoj, jekeli, ma:li, jeta:l	n/d	zizoj, jekeli, ma:li	jekuli
118	little (amount)	k'am	k'am	k'am	k'ham	k'am, zara, pitʃa	n/d	kam	k'am
119	all	hame, koli	hamæ	hame	hama	hama	n/d	hama	hama
120	good	xub	xuw	xuʔ	xuu	xuʔ	n/d	xuw	xuw
121	bad	bad	bað	bað	bað	baj	n/d	bæj	bað

Item	Bakhtiāri- Chārlāng	Luristāni-Rural	Luristāni mixed	Luristāni- Borujerdi 1	Luristāni- Borujerdi 2	Luristāni- Khorramābādi	Q-Laki mixed	Laki-Aleshtar
82	zemesū	zimisū	zemesu	n/d	n/d	zemasū	z'emesow	z'emesow
83	dei, ?oboi	dɤ	rəwɔq, ?aβadi	n/d	n/d	de, dea, ?aβadi	?obodi	dɤ
84	sazɔ	majdū	bija	n/d	n/d	bijabū	howmɔri	dajt, howmɔri
85	dʒada, rah	rɔh, ra, rah, lur, sara*	dʒada	n/d	n/d	dʒada	dʒada	dʒada
86	hone	huna	hona	n/d	n/d	hona, xona	hona	mɔl
87	dʒoldʒo (mat)	taxt	raxtixow (mattress)	n/d	n/d	tax	taxt	taxt
88	tʃa, tʃola (in ground), god	n/d	silo	n/d	n/d	sila, tʃola (in ground), god	sijlo	kono
89	?ɔfɔl	n/d	?ɔfɔl, pɛrtɔl	n/d	n/d	?afɔl	?ɛfɔl	?ɔfɔl
90	rext (bedding)	libos, dʒarda, puʃin, partu, partɔl	dʒoma	n/d	n/d	labos	labos	labos
91	zin	n/d	zin	n/d	n/d	zin	zin	zin
92	dig	potil, dasador, tos	potil	n/d	n/d	dik, potil, tɛtfa	potil	potil, tɛlama
93	guʃt	guʃt	guʃt	n/d	n/d	guʃt	guʃt	guʃt
94	nemek	namak	nəmak	n/d	n/d	nimak	xuwɔ	xuwɔ
95	ruya	rawyā	rəyu	n/d	n/d	reyo	rin	rin
96	toxɔ	xɔja	toxmimɔrx, xɔja	n/d	n/d	toxɔ, ter	xɔja	xɔja, xɔ
97	fir	n/d	fir	n/d	n/d	fir, feir	fir	fir
98	gosna (adj)	gosnai	gosna (adj)	n/d	n/d	gosna (adj)	versəni	versəɾni
99	tɛfna (adj)	tɛfna (adj)	tɛfna (adj)	n/d	n/d	tɛfna (adj)	tini	tini
100	band	ban, navɔr	tanaw	n/d	n/d	ban	rasan, ban	təɾɔf, rasan
101	?ɔhɛ	n/d	?ɔhɛ	n/d	n/d	?ohe	?ɔhəɾ	?ɔhəɾ
102	kɔɔq	kɔɔtʃu	tʃaqu	n/d	n/d	tʃayy	tʃaku	tʃaku
103	dʒær	dʒan, masof	qi	n/d	n/d	dʒaŋ	dʒaŋŋ <sup>1</sup> , marɔfa	dʒaŋŋ <sup>1</sup> , marɔfa
104	jak	jak, je	jak	n/d	n/d	jak	jak	jak
105	do	du	d'əw	n/d	n/d	dɤ	də	du
106	se	se	sa	n/d	n/d	sə	si	si
107	tʃɔr	tʃɔr	tʃɔr	n/d	n/d	tʃɔr	tʃɔr	tʃɔr
108	pəj	paŋdʒ	pəjɔ	n/d	n/d	paŋdʒ	pādʒ	pādʒ
109	ʃaf	ʃaf	ʃaf	n/d	n/d	ʃaf	ʃaf	ʃaf
110	haf	hafɔ	haf	n/d	n/d	haf	hafɔ	hafɔ
111	haf	hafɔ	haf	n/d	n/d	haf	haf	haf
112	no	nuh	n'əw	n/d	n/d	nəw	nɤ	nɤ
113	da	da	da	n/d	n/d	da	d'a	d'a
114	joza	n/d	joza	n/d	n/d	joza	joza	joza
115	bis	n/d	bis, 'dad'əw	n/d	n/d	bis:	bis	bis
116	sad	sad	sad	n/d	n/d	saɔ	sad	sad
117	zijo, jekeli	n/d	zijad	n/d	xɛ <sup>1</sup> li	zijad	fara	fara
118	kam	kam, dʒaxɔv, gary	kam, qoli, hirda	n/d	n/d	kam	k'am	kam
119	hama	hama, kul, jamin, tamum	hama	n/d	ham:a	hama	kol <sup>1</sup>	kol <sup>1</sup>
120	xuw	xu:	xuw	n/d	xuw	xuw	xuw	xuw
121	bəj	bad	gan	n/d	n/d	baɔ	bad	bad, gand

Item	Gloss	Farsi-Shirazi formal	Farsi- Bushehri	S Luri- Mamasani 1	S Luri- Mamasani 2	S Luri- Boyerahmadi	S Luri- Kohgiluyeh	Bakhtiari- Haflang 1	Bakhtiari- Haflang 2
122	old (thing)	kohne	lek'e	nimdoç	koma, nimdoç	koma, nimdoç	n/d	koma	koma
123	new	no, dşedid	no, toza	naw	nu	naw	n/d	now	nu
124	hot	daw	sorx	g'armp	g'erm	doç	n/d	daw	doç
125	cold	sæd	sar	særç	særd	saçq, xonok	n/d	særd	xonok <sup>j</sup>
126	tall	qadboland	bolan	he'k'æj	beland, g'æpu	he'kal, gonda, deroz, şelal	n/d	qabolæ, bolæqa, ræj, he'kal	belan
127	short (height)	qadkuta	kutʃik <sup>j</sup>	kut'o	kut'o, koʃku, koʃkelu	keʃkelu, koʃku, xordelu	n/d	kutoqa	kut'o, fişqeni
128	long	deraz, boland	bolan	ʃolanç	beland	deroz, borik <sup>j</sup>	n/d	bolæ	belan
129	short (length)	kuta, kutjek	kutʃik <sup>j</sup>	kut'o	kuto	keʃkelu, dşamdşur	n/d	kutʃir	fişqeni
130	heavy	saŋg'in	saŋgm	saŋg'i	saŋg'i	saŋg'i	saŋg'i	saŋgi	saŋg'i
131	light	sabok <sup>j</sup>	siʃok <sup>j</sup>	s'abok <sup>j</sup>	sabok <sup>j</sup>	sabok <sup>j</sup>	sabok <sup>j</sup>	sevek	siʃek <sup>j</sup>
132	full	por	poç	p'ʔi	p'or	p'or	por	por	por
133	empty	xoli	xoli	xoli, paçi	xoli, paçi	xoli	xoli	holi, pati	pati
134	clean	tamiz	t'amiz, p'ok <sup>h</sup>	pok <sup>j</sup>	pnk <sup>j</sup>	tamiz, pok	poc	temiz, pok	pok <sup>j</sup>
135	dirty	k'asif	tʃepal	g'ænd	g'ænd, tʃerku	k'esiif, g'and, tʃerku	cesif, pelaft	kesif, tʃerk	nadʒest
136	dry	xoʃk	xoʃk	xoʃk	xoʃk	xoʃk	xoʃ	hoʃk	xoʃk
137	red	qermez, sorx	sorx	sçʔx	sorç	sorx	sorx	hor	sor
138	black	sia, meʃki	sjo	sij	si	se	se', meʃki	ja	ja
139	white	sæfid	sæfid	sæfid	sæfid	safi	sæfid	ʔesby	ʔespið
140	leave (3s past)	raft	re	ra	ra	ra	rad	ra	ra
141	come	ʔamad	ʔume	ʔuma	ʔama	ʔuma	ʔo'mad	ʔoue, ʔaou	ʔevej
142	arrive	resid	ʔume	resi	resi	resi	rasi	rasi	resi
143	get up	bolandʃod	resawi	varis'o	variso	belandoʃi, variso	vari	virisoð	veristo
144	sit	nefast	nefeʃ	neʃasj	nifas:	nifas:	nifas	neʃaʃ	neʃasj
145	lie down	derazk'iʃid	xawsi	χçws'i	xawsi	derozoʃi	derozoʃi	xawsi	xawsi, lamdoð
146	fall	ʔoʃud	ʔoʃto	n/d	ʔçftos	ʔoʃto	ʔoʃto, verxa	vas	vast
147	walk	qadamzad, pijodek'æd	xolike	n/d	vareira	pijojoʃi	pijojoʃi	pijojeke	ra
148	run	david	goroxt	dçikis'	dçikes	dojes, dçakes	does	dawni	dawni
149	swim	fenok'æd	fenoke	malakx'	malak'ç	milak'e	milak'e	malak'e	malak'e
150	fly (bird)	parid, parvazg'ereft	geʃtke	bolg'ræ	b'olk'ç	bolik'e	bolc	peres	verkan(d), dçest
151	see	did	dið	diç	dið	dij	dij	di	dij
152	hear	fenid	ʔeʃnoft	ʔiʃnowft	ʔiʃnowft	ʔeʃnoft	ʔeʃnoft, jenoft	ʔaʃni	ʔeʃnowft
153	smell (scent)	buid	buʃuma	buʔiʃna'ft	buk'e	buʃk'e	n/d	buke	bu
154	give birth	zaid	zej	ze, z'ej	zej	zojes	n/d	zoit	zæst, zæmor
155	die	mord	mord	mçʔç	mord	mord	n/d	mord	mord
156	sleep	xabid	xawsi	xawsi	xawsi	xawsi	n/d	xawsi	xawsi
157	blow (on)	futk'æd	hoʃke	hçʔk'æçd	hoʃk'e	hoʃk'e	n/d	hoʃk'e	hoʃk'ed
158	whistle (with mouth)	autzad	fitædo	ʃitazad	futza, futaza	futaza	n/d	ʃitzi	ʃitzi
159	swell	varamk'æd, motavaremʃod	boðke	p'çʔk'ç	p'çʔk'ç	bojke	n/d	bojke	poʃk'e

Item	Bakhtiāri-Chārlāng	Luristāni-Rural	Luristāni-mixed	Luristāni-Borujerdi 1	Luristāni-Borujerdi 2	Luristāni-Khorramābādī	Q-Laki mixed	Laki-Aleshtar
122	kona	kuhe, tʃoq	kɔna	n/d	n/d	k'ena	kona	kɛna
123	now	nu, tar, toza	nu, toza	n/d	nəw	noʊ	nuw	nuw
124	doq	n/d	doq	n/d	doq	doʃ	doʃ	doʃ
125	sərd	sərd	sar	n/d	sərd	sərd	sərd, hoek	sərd
126	qabolə, boləqa, rəf, he'kal	bolan	bələg	n/d	dəroz	bolanyad	dəriz	dəriz
127	kutoqa	galil	kol	n/d	n/d	kuta, kotʃe	kol	kʷəl
128	bolə	n/d	dəroz, bələg	n/d	dəroz	dəroz, bəlan	dəriz	dəriz
129	kutʃir	kuto, galil, kul	kʷəl	n/d	n/d	kotʃek	kolʲ	gədgər, kʷəl
130	səgʲil	səgʲil	səgʲil	n/d	n/d	səgʲil	səgʲil, saqal	səgʲil, saqal
131	səvek	n/d	səpək	n/d	n/d	səvək	səvək	səvək
132	por	pur	pʰor	n/d	n/d	por	por	por
133	holi	holi, pati, piki	hoʷli	n/d	xoli	xoli, pati	holʲi	holʲi
134	təviz, pək	təviz	təviz, pək	n/d	təviz, pəkʲ	təviz, pək	təviz, pək	təviz, pək
135	kesif, tʃerk	katʃal	kasif, napək	n/d	pis	tʃerku, tʃerku	kesif, tʃerku, nədgəs, nopək	kesif, nədgəs, nopək, tʃerku
136	hoʃk	xuʃk, huʃk, sabəq	xuʃk, hoʃk	n/d	xəʃk	xoʃk	xuʃk	xuʃk
137	sor	sor	sʰər	n/d	sorx	sərx	syr	sər
138	sa	sv, sijə, tvmū	sə	n/d	sjo	sjo, si	sʲiʰ	sʲi
139	ʔespi	ʔəbɪ, lakar	səfɪd, ʔespi	n/d	səfɪd	ʔespi	ʔespiʰ	ʔespiʰ
140	ra	ratə (verbs are infinitive)	ratə (verbs are infinitive)	n/d	rat	rat	rat	ʃi
141	ʔima	ʔəmoɖə	ʔoʷmoɖə	n/d	ʔomo	ʔoma	hoʷt	jeɖət
142	resi	n/d	rasis	n/d	rees	rees	rasi	rasi
143	varisə	n/d	riɖəhesɖe, verisə	n/d	n/d	varisə	hizgər	hizgər
144	nəʃ	nəʃas	nəʃas	n/d	n/d	nəʃas	nəʃi	nəʃt
145	xowsi	n/d	dərozkaʃi	n/d	n/d	dərozzi	diroʷzbi	kətəʔo
146	vas	ʔiftodə	zəmiɖard	n/d	ʔəftos	ʔofto	kat	kat
147	pijojeke	n/d	qadamzəʃi, rarət	n/d	n/d	pijəbi	pijəbi	pijəɖəbi
148	downit	kɪɖəvədəw	dəwɪsɪ	n/d	dʒəkəs	dəqəs	rami	noʔəɖy
149	malək'e	n/d	mal'əqardi	n/d	ʃənokeɖ	maləʃonikəɖ	mal'əkəɖə	maləʃonikəɖ
150	pəres	pərisə	pərisɪ	n/d	pəris	pəres	vəzɡərət, vɔdərərət	vəzɡərət
151	di	didə	dije	n/d	n/d	di	di	di
152	ʔifnowit	ʔifnəftə	ʔəfnəft, fəmasi	n/d	ʃənəft	ʔəfnəft	ʔəfnəft	ʃənəft
153	buke	n/d	bukəɖ	n/d	bues, buməkəɖ	bumijə, bukarəɖ	buka	bukəɖt
154	zəit	bəriɖəmalnəɖə	zəi	n/d	zəes	zəes	zəi	zəi
155	mərd	mərd	mərdə	n/d	mərd	mərd	mərd	mərd
156	xowsi	xəw(n), huftidə	hofti, xəwɪsɪ	n/d	n/d	hofti	hofti	həʃət
157	hoʃk'e	pəʃkɪɖə	pəʃkəɖ	n/d	n/d	pəʃkəɖ	pəʃkəɖ	pəʃkəɖ
158	ʃitza	n/d	ʃitza	n/d	n/d	ʃitza	ʃitza	ʃitdoti
159	bədk'e	n/d	ʃədkəɖ	n/d	n/d	bədkəɖ, huʃkəɖ	vəʃkəɖ	pəʃləkkəɖ, vəkəɖ

Item	Gloss	Farsi-Shirazi formal	Farsi- Bushehri	S Luri- Mamasani 1	S Luri- Mamasani 2	S Luri- Boyerahmadi	S Luri- Kohgiluyeh	Bekhtiāri- Haflang 1	Bekhtiāri- Haflang 2
160	suck (finger)	mek'id	meqze	n/d	mekano	mekza	n/d	mekzei	metne
161	spit	tofindaxt	tofke	t'ofk'e	t'ofk'e	tofk'e	n/d	tofk'e	tofk'e
162	cough	sorfek'æd	kofake	kifaza	kifaza	kifaza, kifak'e	n/d	kofni	kofak'e
163	vomit	?estefrank'æd	bolobō	hulbuk'e	huluqk'e	holuqk'e, ?ovordbolo	n/d	?avordbolo, gesijike	holesbijok - xard
164	bark (dog)	porsk'æd	vakke	p'orsk'e	porsk'e	porsk'e	n/d	porsk'e	posk'e
165	bite (animal)	gazg'ereft	kalmze	dandung'err	g'iro	gozgero	n/d	gamzaj	gamzaj
166	eat	xord	xo	xarq	xa	xa	n/d	xarq	xard
167	drink	xord, nu'id	xo	xarq	xa	xa	n/d	xarq	xard
168	want	xost	xos:	xos:	xos:	xos:	n/d	xos:	xost
169	fear	tæsid	zala'fre	zala'fra	tarsi	zala'fra	n/d	tarsi, zalesra	zalesra, verhelosest
170	know (something)	donest, baladbud	fami	dunes:	dunes:	dunes	n/d	dunes:	donest
171	think	fekq'æd	fek:e	fekrk'e	fekrk'e, husok'e	fek:e	n/d	fek'e	fek:er
172	count	femord	?efmord	simorq	simorq	?efmard	n/d	?efmor	femarq
173	suffer, have pain (body)	dædk'e'æd	dardke	dardik'e	dardik'e, fahmi	dardik'e, dardg'ero	n/d	dardke	dardk'e
174	laugh	xandek'æd, xandid	xandes	xandeg'	xandes	xandes	n/d	xandes	xandest
175	cry	g'erjek'æd	gerjek'e	g'eriβes'	g'irives, g'irioek'e	g'iriβes	n/d	geriβes	g'irivest
176	say	goft	go	gō, goft	gō	go	n/d	go	god
177	ask	porsid, sualk'æd	porsi	p'ors'ik'	p'orsk'ik'e	porsk'e	n/d	porsid, porsk'e	porsi
178	sing	?avoxand	ferxon	beyt'xonq	?avoxand, deibal(o)l - xond	?avoxūn, ferxun	n/d	?vovoxond	?avoxō
179	dance	raxsid	raxsi	rqosk'e	raqsk'e, varboxt	raqos	n/d	raqsis, bozes	rasqes
180	play (child)	bazik'æd	bozike	bozik'æq	bozik'e	bozik'e	n/d	bozikæq	bozik'e
181	give	dod	doō	doq	do	do	n/d	do	do
182	show	nefundod	nu'fundo	ne'funejdod	ni'fundo	ni'fundo	n/d	ne'funejdod	nefō
183	send	ferestad	bisike	βa'fdo	ferestō	bisik'e	n/d	fe'jno	fe'jno
184	buy	xarid	xeri	mome'ipk'e, saq	xiri	?es:a	n/d	?estej	xari
185	marry	?ezdevad3k'æd, ?arusik'æd	?erusike, zægeret	fik'e	?arusik'e	fik'e (woman), zanes:a (man)	n/d	?arusik'e, fik'e (woman)	?arusik'e
186	flight (war)	d3agg'id	d3arke	dz'ærk'e	d3ærk'e	dzærk'e	n/d	d3ærkeji	morofak'e
187	kill	koft	kōft	k'ōft	k'ōft	k'ōft	n/d	kōft	k'ōft
188	steal	dozdid	doziō	diz'i	diziik'e	dæzi	n/d	dozi	dæzi
189	take	g'ereft	?ese	g'err	g'æro	gærot	n/d	gerejeβes	gere
190	bring	?avæd	?ovo	?ovo'	?ovord	?ovard	n/d	?avorq	?avorō
191	look for	d3osted3uk'æd, pejeg'aft	pejd3uroβi	d3ost	d3ost	vadine'gaft	n/d	ga'fadines	porsk'e
192	find	pe'dak'æd	vej	diβf	diβj	dijeβ, d3oseβ	n/d	d3ostes	pejdok'e, d3ost
193	push	holdod	holdō	hula'nih	hela'noho	holdo, hela'zdo	n/d	holesdō	holdō
194	pull	k'h'id	keji	k'ejfi	k'ejfi	k'ejfi	n/d	kafi	k'ejfi

Item	Bekhtāri-Chārlang	Luristāni-Rural	Luristāni-mixed	Luristāni-Borujerdi 1	Luristāni-Borujerdi 2	Luristāni-Khorramābādī	Q-Laki mixed	Laki-Aleshtar
160	mekest	n/d	mekza	n/d	n/d	meʒno	makʰi, mazi	makʰi, miʒdo
161	tofkʰe	tofkirdā	tofvani	n/d	n/d	təfvand	tvfvan	təfkərd
162	kofni	n/d	kotakardi	n/d	n/d	kotakerqʰ	koti	kəti
163	ʔavordbo, qes ijāke	n/d	ʔestefrovkerq	n/d	n/d	ʔastafrovkerd	qejkərdʰ	ʔəsefrovkerd, qejkərdʰ
164	vaqvaqkʰe	pos (n)	porskərd, valvalkerd	n/d	n/d	poskərd	sejporskərd	porskərd
165	gamza	karuzidā	gazagerqte	n/d	n/d	gazgeret	gazagerq	gazagerqti
166	xarq	hard	harde	n/d	n/d	hard	hard	hʰord
167	xarq	n/d	harde	n/d	n/d	hard	hard	hʰord
168	xos:	hos:ā	host	n/d	n/d	xuw, xuwa	hoʰst	hest
169	tarsi, zalesra	tars (n)	zalafrat, zartaloysi	n/d	n/d	zalafrat, bidzyrat	zaliʃi	zaliʃti
170	dunes:	dunisā, balalvydā*	dōnisi	n/d	n/d	do:nes	fami	fami
171	fekʰe	fikʰkardā, manisā	n/d	n/d	n/d	fekʰkərd, xijolkərd	fekkə	fəkkirkə
172	ʔejmord	famardā	n/d	n/d	n/d	ʔejmard, fəjord	fəmor	fəmoridi
173	darqke, fahmi	dard (n)	n/d	n/d	n/d	darqkərd	fami, zəwnes*	dʰazikərd
174	xandes	xanisā	xanasi	n/d	n/d	xanes	xani	xani
175	girʃes	nolakirdā	girivasi	n/d	n/d	geriʃes	gyri	gyrio
176	go	guwā	got	n/d	n/d	got	goʰt, vət	goʰt, vəti
177	porsid, porskʰe	pursidā, sotlkirdā	n/d	n/d	n/d	porsid	pərsi	pərsiti
178	ʔovoxund	n/d	dapvani	n/d	n/d	ʔavozhand	dangkərt	ʔavoxwani, dangxwani
179	raqsis, bozes	boxtā	boxt	n/d	n/d	ra:ses	ra:si, dasgeret, bozikərt	ra:si, dasgeret, bozikərt
180	bozikərd	n/d	n/d	n/d	n/d	bozikərd	bozibakə	bozikərd
181	do	dadā	daji	n/d	n/d	dad, da	da	doti
182	neʃuneʃdod	nifūdādā	n/d	n/d	n/d	neʃo:do	nifoda	nifodoti
183	fereʃno	farisnōdā	fərisno	n/d	n/d	farisan	kəlkərd	kəlkərd, rekərd
184	xeri, ʔestej	xaridā, sadā	n/d	n/d	n/d	xari	xari	xariti
185	ʔarusikʰe, fikʰe (woman)	xos:ā, nikokirdā, fikirdāva	fikerd	n/d	n/d	zangeret (man)	surkərd	ʔarusikərd, surkərd, zanwoati (man)
186	dʒarksʰi	n/d	n/d	n/d	n/d	dʒaynes	marofakərd	dʒaykərd, marofakərd
187	koʃt	kufʰtā, dʒuxalos kirdā	kʰoʃti	n/d	n/d	koʃt	za	kʰoʃ
188	dozi	duzidā	n/d	n/d	n/d	duzi	bario	dəziti, βərd
189	gerejes	girtā, sadā	n/d	n/d	n/d	geret	geʔt	geʔti
190	ʔovorq	n/d	n/d	n/d	n/d	ʔovorqes	ʔovard	ʔovardi
191	gaʃadines	dʒustā, taluvanā, manikirdā	n/d	n/d	n/d	saraykərd	dʒəsti, sirəvkərd, mənejkərd	dʒəsti, sirəvkərd, mənejkərd
192	dʒostes	paidokirdā	n/d	n/d	n/d	pejdofkərd	pejokərd	pejokərd, kərdadi
193	holesdo	hawlzadā, hawlakdadā	n/d	n/d	n/d	hoʊʃda	hoʊda	dalakdo
194	kafi	kaʃidā	n/d	n/d	n/d	kafi	kafi	kʰiʃi



Num	Gloss	Farsi-Shirazi formal	Farsi- Bushehri	S Luri- Mamasani 1	S Luri- Mamasani 2	S Luri- Boyerahmadi	S Luri- Kohgiluyeh	Bakhtiāri- Haflang 1	Bakhtiāri- Haflang 2
195	tie	bast	bas:	bas:	bas:	bas:	n/d	bas	bast
196	hit	zad	ze	ziðɛʃ	za	zaʃ, zeʃɛʃ	n/d	zaj	zej
197	cut (wood)	borid	bori	biriðɛʃ	biri	bore:s	n/d	bori	borist
198	scrape/scrat ch	xarand	keron	xɔrɛno	xɔrino	xores	n/d	horni	xorist
199	press	feʃardad	zursʃke	zursʃk'e	zursʃk'e	holdo, helayda	n/d	telaijes	zurbo
200	wash (thing)	fost	ʃoʃtʰ	ʃoʃt	ʃoʃt	ʃoʃt	n/d	fost	ʃoʃt
201	burn	suxt	sɔx	sʰɔwxtʰ	sɔxt	sot	n/d	so	soð
202	throw	ʔandaxt	ʔendoxɛ	verdo	verbo	ʔendoxɛ, vireʃdo	n/d	vand	vand
203	pour	rixt	rext	drɛʃɛʃ	rext	ret	n/d	riɛst	rið
204	bury (person)	daʃɛk'e:ɛd	xokɛsk'e	mazoreʃk'i	vamazork'e	difok'e	n/d	ʃɔlesk'e	xokɛsk'e
205	hide (thing)	qoɛmk'e:ɛd	qomeʃke	uik'eʃeʃk'i	penhaniʃk'e, vak'eʃeʃk'e	qojemk'e, k'eʃeʃk'e	n/d	qohomesk'e	qojemk'e
206	work	kork'e:ɛd	kɔrke	kork'e	kork'e	kork'e	n/d	kork'e	kork'e
207	sweep	dʒoruk'e:ɛd	dʒorofke	rɔʃɛʃ	dʒoruk'e, rɔʃɛʃ	dʒorofk'e	n/d	roʃtes	dʒoruk'e
208	weave (carpet)	baʃt	boʃ	baʃ	baʃ	baʃ, boʃt	n/d	baʃt	boʃt
209	cultivate	zerɔsk'e:ɛd, kaʃt, k'iʃt	keʃke	k'iʃɛʃ	k'iʃt, k'eʃtak'e	koʃk'e	n/d	derauke	keʃk'e, keʃt
210	cook	poxt, dorostk'e:ɛd	poxt	pɔxɛʃ	pox	poxt	n/d	poj	poxt
211	here	ʔiqdʒo	ʔiqdʒo	'ʔitʃɔ	'ʔitʃo	ʔitʃo	ʔiro	ʔitʃo	ʔitʃo
212	near	nazdik'	nez:ik	naz:ik'	neheɣɣ	niz:ik, nizɛɣɣ	neheɣɣ	neheɣɣ	nezɛɣɣ
213	there	ʔuqɛdʒo	ʔuqɛdʒo	'ʔutʃɔ	'ʔutʃo	'ʔutʃo	ʔutʃo, ʔuro	ʔutʃo	ʔu'tʃo
214	far	duʃ	dir	dir	dir	dir	dir	dir	dir
215	to the right	rast	ros:	dros:	ros:	ros:	ros:	ros	rost
216	to the left	ʃɛp	ʃɛp	ts'a	ʃɛp	ts'ap	tsap	ʃ'ɛp	ʃɛp
217	now	ʔalʔon, hola	holo	ʔalʔon	ʔalʔon, ʔiso	ʔalon	ʔiso	holo	holo
218	yesterday	diruz	dig'i	di'g'i	dig'i	dig'i	dig'i	duʃ	duʃ
219	tomorrow	farda	sawo	sob	sob, sabo	sob, saboh	sob	sowɔ	səva
220	where	kɔdʒa	kudʒo	'kutʃɔ, ku	'kutʃo	'kutʃo	kutʃo	koja	kɔja
221	when	k'eʃ	ke	k'iʃ	k'ɛ	keʃ	ceʃ	keʃ	k'iʃ
222	how	ʃʃetowɛ	ʃʃitow	ts'itu	ʃʃitow	tsitow	tsiɔɔɔ	ʃʃitowri	ʃʃitow
223	who	k'i	ki	k'i	k'ʰi	k'i	ci	ki	ki
224	what	ʃʃi, ʃʃe	ʃʃe	ʃʃ'e	ts'e, ʃʃe	tse	tse	ʃʃe	ʃʃe
225	I/me	man	mo	mɛ	mɔd	mo	mo	mo	mɛ
226	you/you	to	to	t'ɔ	to	to	to	to	to
227	he-she/ him-her	ʔu	ʔu	uɔ	vo	vo	ho	ho	ho

Item	Bakhtiari- Chārlang	Luristāni-Rural	Luristāni mixed	Luristāni- Borujerdi 1	Luristāni- Borujerdi 2	Luristāni- Khorramābadi	Q-Laki mixed	Laki-Aleshtar
195	bas	bastā	n/d	n/d	n/d	bas	bas, bjan	bas
196	zej	zadā	n/d	n/d	n/d	zaʃ	za	doʔrj
197	bori	boridā	n/d	n/d	n/d	boris	bari	bari
198	xorni	kirkirkirdā	xorisi	n/d	n/d	xorejkerq	xorei	xorei, xʰʰron
199	zuresauord	n/d	n/d	n/d	n/d	sejarda, zurda	taɸon	zurkærɖi
200	foet	fustā	n/d	n/d	n/d	fæst	furi	furi
201	soxt	suxtā, kaznidā	soxti	n/d	n/d	soxt	svt	sqet
202	vand	fanā, havodadā	van	n/d	n/d	partkarq	van	ʔoʃt
203	rej	ryxtā	n/d	n/d	n/d	rextiʃ	rifiʃo	rifo
204	qohomesk'e	xokkirdā	qorkerq	n/d	n/d	dafniʃkarq, xokiʃkarq	xokokærq	xokkærq, qajemkærɖ, hærdaziro
205	qohomesk'e	qom (n)	n/d	n/d	n/d	qomniʃkarq, panhoniʃkarq	xoʃemokærɖ	qajemkærɖ, hærdaziro
206	kork'e	kor (n)	n/d	n/d	n/d	korkærq	korokærq	korkærɖi
207	roftoruk'e	n/d	n/d	n/d	n/d	dgarukærq	dgarukærq	dgarukærqɖi
208	boft	n/d	n/d	n/d	n/d	bofteʃ	riftonin*	gætkærq
209	koft	kaftā, niʃanā	n/d	n/d	n/d	kæʃovarzikærq	kæʃovarzikærq	kæʃovarzikærq
210	pox	puxtā	n/d	n/d	n/d	poʰxt	pox	pox
211	ʔitʃo	ʔitʃe, varitʃe, vitʃe, iku, hino, himi, hvni	ʔitʃe	n/d	ʔintʃæ, ʔindʒe	ʔitʃæ	ʔura	ʔura
212	nəzəŋg	nazik, niʃap	nizik <sup>h</sup>	n/d	n/d	nazik	nazik	nazik
213	ʔutʃo	vutʃe, varutʃe, ʔuku	ʔutʃe	n/d	ʔutʃæ, ʔuntʃæ	ʔutʃæ	ʔura	ʔura
214	dir	dir	dir	n/d	dir	dir	dir	dʰir
215	ros	ros	ros	n/d	n/d	ros	ros	ros
216	tʃʰap	tʃap	tʃap	n/d	n/d	cap	tʃʰap	tʃʰap
217	holo	ʔalʔan, haysa, hamsaj, ʔise, ʔisi	ʔiise	n/d	n/d	holo	ʔiska	ʔiska, harsa
218	dufi	n/d	duʃ	n/d	diru	duʃ	duʃ, duni	duʃ, duna
219	sowa	n/d	n/d	n/d	n/d	sy	sy	su
220	kodʒe	kutʃo	kʰodʒo	n/d	n/d	kodʒo	ku	ku
221	ke <sup>l</sup>	hajka	ke	n/d	n/d	ke <sup>l</sup>	ke	ke
222	tʃitowri	tʃitawr	tʃetowr	n/d	n/d	tʃitær	tʃæna	tʃætar
223	ki	ki	kʰe	n/d	n/d	ki	ki <sup>l</sup>	ki <sup>l</sup>
224	tʃe	tʃi	tʃeə	n/d	n/d	tʃi	tʃa, tʃv	tʃa
225	mo	mā	mā	n/d	man	mā	mi	mi
226	to	tu	tʰə	n/d	to	tv	tv	tə
227	ho	n/d	va	n/d	ʔu	ʔu	ʔu	ʔu